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ABSTRACT

This paper completes a description of Proto-Algic morphology begun by the author with a description of the verb (Proulx, 1985) and of pronouns (Proulx, 1991) by focusing on Proto-Algic noun structure and inflection. In Proto-Algic, a primary noun stem ends in a derivational final, a secondary one in a nominalizer. Both usually resemble demonstrative pronouns in shape. A detailed description is provided of the endings of third-person singular verbs, which show striking resemblance to those of some classes of nouns. The possible glottogonic origins of these endings is then discussed. (JL)

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PROTO-ALGIC IV: Nouns

Paul Proulx

Abstract: In Proto-Algic, a primary noun stem often ends in a derivational final, a secondary one in a nominalizer. Both usually resemble demonstrative pronouns in shape. A dependent noun stem lacks a root, and generally begins in **i:, **o:, or in a consonant other than **p or **k(w). In those cases where it is paired with a medial beginning in **p or **k(w), a prefix receptor (**-c, **-ɬ, **-s, **-š, or **-t) is prefixed. Inflection for allocation differs for kin, human body parts, parts of nonhumans, and general nouns.

0. Introduction

This paper completes a sketch of Proto-Algic morphology which I began with a description of the verb (Proulx 1985a, reconstructions 139-238) and of pronouns (Proulx 1991, reconstructions 239-271).[1] It's for the most part a straightforward description of Proto-Algic noun structure and inflection. In addition, however, it includes a more detailed reconstruction of the endings of third-person singular verbs - which show a striking resemblance to those of some classes of nouns (a similarity of the sort already well-known in Algonquian). The possible glottogonic origins of these endings is then discussed. First, however, we need to update the phonology of the protolanguage.

1. Phonological Notes

The main correspondences in this paper have been described in my sketch of Proto-Algic phonology (Proulx 1984). In addition, I have shown (Proulx 1985a:sec.12) that **my gives Y y, that PA ŝ from **r and **ĉh (as well as from **ŝ) alternates to PA *ɬ before a morpheme boundary (except before PA *y and **i[:]), that **ʔ remains as glottal catch before a vowel in Wiyot and PA. I have also adjusted the reflexes of vowels in monosyllables, and of prevocalic **l and **r (Proulx 1991:sec.1.1, 3.1). To summarize briefly the updates to the original sketch:

The length of final vowels in syntactically independent monosyllabic Proto-Algic words is noncontrastive: the phonetic length of such vowels is determined chiefly by the presence or absence of stress. Generally, their reflexes coincide with those

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of short vowels in Algonquian, and with those of long vowels in Wiyot and Yurok. The reflexes of **l and **r are:

PAc	PA	W	Y
*l	*l	l(r)	r(l)
*r	*ŝ(ɬ-)	ŝ(s)	s

By this account, Proto-Algic *r continues to give Pre-PA *ŝ (with a regular secondary alternation of Pre-PA *ŝ to *ɬ before morpheme boundaries), but before vowels it also gives Wiyot ŝ (or s - the two alternate synchronically), and Y s - reflexes already identified in consonant clusters (see Proulx 1984:195). Before vowels, Proto-Algic *l continues to give PA *l and W l, but it gives Y r rather than l (see Proulx 1984:195 for its reflexes in consonant clusters). The l/r alternations in the Ritwan Sprachbund are now seen to be secondary from *l alone.

Besides these already-established correspondences, a number of the reconstructions in this paper involve new ones which fall in two groups: (1) **S plus apical clusters, and (2) a new phoneme **gw.

1.1. New Clusters. One of the main gaps in the sketch is the series of consonant clusters (other than **tl) consisting of two apicals. The first member of these clusters is always **r or **S (where **S = s or r):

PAc	PA	W	Y	Examples.
**St	*?t	t	st	BIG, EXHAUST
**Sc	*?s		sc	EXHAUST
**Sĉ	*?ŝ	c	sc	BIG, DARK
**Sl	*?l		ɬ	DIVIDE, SKIN, FAR
	#*ɬ	#ɬ	#sr	DIVIDE, SKIN, SINGE (# = initial position)
**Sr	*?ŝ		s	SKIN, SINGE
	#ŝ			DIVIDE, alternations (# = initial position)
**Stl	*?t		ɬ	BARE
**Scr	*?s			BARE, alternations
**rt	*?t		st	1-DIMENSIONAL
**lt	*ht	t	t	1-DIMENSIONAL, BOW

Examples of S-clusters:

(272) **keSt-, **keSĉ- 'big, much': PA *ke?t- 'big' A769 (and 'old', as in *ke?tesiwa 'old person' A769), PA *ke?ĉi- 'much, greatly' A760; W kɬc- 'a lot', as in ta-kɬcɬ?wɬd 'one gets a lot' (transcribed with aspirated ch) with deverbal medial **-e?w 'catch, kill' (see **re?w- #345). More common is W kɬcw-, with **-Vw 'postradical extension': kitka kɬcwatbiɬ 'she's going to build a big fire' (with **-Vt 'heat' #185), kɬcwatɬb 'I cook it too much', kɬcwa?yulɬwīɬ 'she's packing a big load'.

With intensive change, this stem generally means 'old': PA *ke:?te:- (with link **e: incorporated in the stem) 'old' A659 (reconstructed with *ht, but compare M k<:?c- 'big, old'); W kíta?w 'it got old' (with **-Vw 'be'). Note that even in this archaic use of intensive change, Algonquian has its productive ablaut of *e to *e: rather than the usual infixing characteristic of Proto-Algic and seen in the Wiyot stem (with contraction of **ege to W i). Compare also C kistiyiniw and ke:hte:yiniw 'old man', M k<?c- and k<:?c- 'big, old', and perhaps F kehta 'formerly' and K keehta 'previously'. It has always seemed odd synchronically that W kɬc- 'a lot' should have c rather than

grade-3 ĉ as the meaning would suggest. However, grade 3 **Sĉ DOES make sense, and the very commonness of the root would have made leveling out of regular sound change unlikely. Evidently then, **Sĉ simply gave W c.

(273) **megwi:Stl-, **megwi:Scr- 'bare, without anything': PA *mwe?t- 'bare, without anything', Y megiɬ 'without anything'; PA *mwe?s- 'bare, without anything' (C mose:tiye:hkwa:miw 'she sleeps with bare buttocks'). The Yurok word is a free adverbial, the Algonquian one a preverb and adverbial root.

PA *mwe?t- 'bare, without anything': C mosta:pe:kase:w 'she goes naked', mostihkwa:miw 'she sleeps alone on the bare ground', mosta:htaka:w 'bare ground', mosta:twe:witam 'she speaks without effect', M mo?tahak<w 'she's bare-skinned, naked', mo?tawekan<:hsen 'she lies with her back exposed', mo?ceh 'having nothing, empty handed'. PA *mwe?tohɬe:wa 'she walks (having no mount or vehicle)': C mostohte:w 'she merely walks', M mo?to:hn<w. The Lake languages have dissimilation of labials in this item, for Ps-PA *me?t- (cf. O ma:nk, Mi ma:nkwa 'loon' from PA * mwa:kwa A1338).

(274) **ne:St- 'exhausted, to exhaustion', **ne:Sc- 'weak, inadequate': PA *ne:?tw- 'exhausted', Y nest- 'pushing one's body to its limits'; PA *ne:?sw- 'weak, weary', Y nesc- (and na:sc-) 'inadequate'. PA incorporates postmedial **-Vw, and the last Yurok by-form has ablaut. Examples: C ne:stosin 'she lies tired', ne:stohkwe:kawiw 'she bleeds to exhaustion or death', ne:stwa:kona:mo:w 'she's tired from running in snow', Y nesto?rep? 'she runs fast', nestetoyek? 'I've been badly hurt in my flesh', nesturek? 'I reach the other shore'; C ne:so:wan 'it's weak', ne:so:wisiw 'she's weary', Y nescinepek? 'I don't think I can do it' (na:scinepek? 'I feel inadequate to a task').

(275) **neSĉV 'last night': W dɨcɨwɨ 'last night', Y nahscuh 'last night'.

(276) **neSĉ-, **neSt- 'night; dark, lonely, awful': PA *ne?ŝ- 'dark, alone, awful', changed, infixed, and reduplicated *nanye:?t- 'lonely, night', Y nahsc- (in nahscewen 'night', and nahscuh 'last night'), W dɨcɨw- 'night' incorporates postmedial **-Vw (in dɨcɨwɨ́?l 'nighttime', dɨcɨwɨ 'last night', and dɨcɨwɨ́tal 'I'm going out at night', with -Vtal 'go').

This item shows PA *e = W ɨ = Y ah in a first syllable. Y ah and e sometimes are in free or conditioned variation in this environment (Y srahkwoh 'loincloth' and slekwoh 'shirt', and compare Y -ahtew 'hand' beside more common -etew). This correspondence contrasts with PA *e = W i = Y ah in a first syllable (see #32, 46, 47, 111), for which **i is reconstructed.

I reconstruct **e for it, allowing that it split into Y e (generally) and a plus automatic h where needed in rarer and as yet undetermined environments. Possibly, an adjacent **S and/or Yurok s or Pre-Yurok *s was one such environment.

PA *ne?ŝ- 'dark, alone, awful': M n<?sek- 'dark' (in n<?sekapew 'she sits in the dark'), K nesi- (in nesikee- 'live alone', K nesíahki- 'be awful ground'). PA *nanye:?t- 'lonely, night': M nani:?tak- (in nani:?tak<sew 'she's lonely', nani:?takena:kwat 'night is falling'). The two Menominee stems incorporate postmedial *-ek.

The pattern of reduplication in this and in a few other Algonquian nouns is complex, involving ablaut (archaic or not), sometimes infixing (as in DARK and CLOSED), as well as the prefixed syllable itself. For example: PA *kakye:p- 'closed (of senses)' A576, beside *kep- 'cover, close, block' A728-757.

(277) **SleSl-, **SlaSl-, **SleSr-, **SraSl-, **SlegeSl- 'divide': (a) PA *ɬe?law- 'fork', Y slahɬ- 'separate, apart', (b) PA *ɬa?law- 'fork', (c) Y slahsicok? 'I parted from them' (-Vc 'go'), (d) PA *ŝa?law- 'fork' (M sa?naw- 'fork'). This stem shows that **Sl gives PA ɬ in word-initial position (beside *?ɬ medially), and Y ɬ after h, while **Sr gives PA *ŝ (or *s) in this position. See #276 above on the alternation of Y ah and e.

PA *ɬe?law-, *ɬa?law- 'fork': K nezaaahi 'forked pole', Sh l(e)?θaw- 'forked' (le?θawa:lanye?θi 'fish-hawk = forked tail feathers', lθawa?katwi 'it's forked'), Mi neswehikwani 'I divide it' p.381; F nasawa:nakesiwa 'she forks at the opening', changed ne:sawa:hi 'the forked support of the booth', bO nassawabideigan 'fork'. Menominee examples (reflecting PA *ŝa?law-): sa?nawa:hkwat 'it forks as wood, solid', sa?nawepaniw 'the road forks', sa?nawanani:w 'split-tailed eagle', sa?nawehn<n 'it (esp. stream) lies forking'. Yurok examples: syahɬecok? 'I separate from someone, as at the fork in a trail', syahɬecewek? 'I left the group', syahɬo?opek? 'I build my own fire apart', syahɬinemek? 'I separate things'.

(278) **Sleyep?et-, **Sleyep?at-, **Sreyep?ec- 'singe': (a) W ɬɨptat 'singe (duck)' (with -at 'cook, fire', as in kɬcwatɬb 'I cook it too much'), (b) PA *ɬi:pat- (C ci:pataham 'she puts it on a spit'), (c) Y seyep?c?- 'singe'. Generally PA *ɬ alternates to *ŝ before *i: - but evidently the development of initial **Sl into PA *ɬ postdates this rule and is exempted from it. Instead, **Sl gives *ɬ, which in turn gives C t and secondarily C c. After the loss of the **e separating them, a simple affricate is glottalized after a glottalized stop in Yurok (p?c ---> p?c?). In Wiyot, 'aspirated stops... do not participate in clusters' (Teeter 1964:16), so presumably Pre-Wiyot *ph from **p? was simplified in

that environment (pht ---> pt).

(279) **weSlaw-, **wa:Slaw- 'far away': W ɬáwik 'it's far away' (with -ik as in kɬɨtik '[it's] hot' from **keɬeyet- 'hot' #93), PA *wa:?law- 'distant' (C wahyaw 'far', M wa:?naw 'distant, long time', O wa:ssa 'far'). This stem evidently contains the postradical extension **-Vw added to a root **weSl- or, with archaic ablaut, **wa:Sl-. Thus, compare F wa:sahkamiko:ha 'person of a distant land' (with medial PA *-ahkamik 'space' A81). The loss of initial **we is regular in Wiyot.

(280) **waSlak-, **waSlek-, **waSrak-, medial **-erek- and **-arek- 'skin' (mostly reinforced with the final **-ay 'skin' no.53): (a) PA *wa?lakaya 'skin, scale' (C wahyakay 'scale', Mc wa:xi 'skin'), (b) Y srahkwoh 'loincloth', slekwoh 'shirt' and slekwslekw 'clothes', (c) PA *wa?ŝakaya (C wasakay, r10 waŝakay); (d) PA *-eŝkaya (in *-ɬameŝkaya 'inner skin, membrane' S176), W wɨ́tkay 'skin' (incorporation the third-person prefix), Y skoy 'strip of buckskin'.

(281) **-Vlt, **-Vrt '1-dimensional' (and usually some final): (a) PA *-a:htekw 'tree, stick, wood' A13, W -áti? 'tree, wood' (máti? 'wood', wikwáti? 'pine or fir trees'); (b) PA *-e?tekw in *me?tekw- 'tree, wood, stick' A1229-1235, Y -ostek? in stostek? 'small fir tree'. See Bloomfield (ML:262) for the PA noun final *-ekw. This abstract final is in turn composed of noun-final *-w (Bloomfield 1946:sec.60) and a residue *-ek perhaps cognate to Y ek? 'long and pliable' (Robins 1958:88). Wiyot -i? is cognate to Y -o? 'tree' (reflecting **-V? 'tree'). See Denny (1986:149) on the classifiers of manipulable objects in Ojibwa, notably O -aatig '1D-rigid'.

Examples: M ena:htek 'that kind of tree, stick', O po:ta:kɨna:ttik 'pestle stick', O ɨnina:ttik 'hard maple', W wɨtkɨdát 'bones' from **w?eɬkani #26, W -ɨɬwat 'plant' from **-aɬw, **sema:lt- 'bow' (#282 below) beside **ŝema:y- 'shoot' (with postradical **-Vy), and perhaps W wɨtbɨ́t 'head' from **wetempi #90.

(282) **sema:lt-, **ŝema:lt- 'bow': W ŝbát-, Y smohta?r (with -a?r 'stick'), ?nesomet 'my bow' (with metathesis of the last two vowels) Nb.1:2. Includes the medial **-Vlt '1-D' #281. Cf. Proto-Pomo *xihmúy or *xi(?)mi 'bow', where *x ---> ŝ in some languages. The Proto-Algics didn't have bows, so perhaps the term was transferred from dart-thrower.

1.2. A New Phoneme. Another set of correspondences leads me to posit an additional phoneme, **gw (which fits nicely into the phonemic system postulated earlier, Proulx 1984:202). This phoneme is hard to recognize, as its reflexes drop in some phonological environments. Correspondences are:

	PAc	PA	W	Y	Examples.
(A)	**gw	*w	g	g	unconditioned
(B)	**egw	*w		eg	TIRED OF, BARE
(C)	**e:gw	*e:w		eg	BIG BIRD, MALE
(D)	**Vgw	*Vw	Vg	Vg	OUT, BELLY
(E)	**?e:gw		ág	?e?g	MADRONE
(F)	**i?a:gw	*ye:w	àg	o?og	COALS

Recall that (as in A, B) **e drops between a consonant and *w in PA, that (as in B, C) **eg drops in Wiyot except in a first syllable (Proulx 1984:192) and (as in E) **e: gives W a before **?w #50-51 (hence likely before **gw), and that **g is glottalized when the next preceding consonant is an initial glottalized one in Yurok. Examples are:

**megwi:Stl-, **megwi:Scr- 'bare, without anything' #273: PA *mwe?t- 'bare, without anything', Y megiɬ 'without anything'; PA *mwe?s- 'bare, without anything'.

(283) **ata:gw, **eta:gw 'belly': deverbal PA *-ata:w 'stomach' (in Sh hope?kwata:wiloke 'she has a stomach ache', with PA *petkw- 'lump, sphere' [see **aphetk- #346]), W tágɨdɨ?l 'her belly' (with incorporation of the abstract verbal final **-Vn #177).

(284) **nepe:gw- 'be male', **na:pe:gwa 'male': Y pegiɬ 'male animal', pegɨk 'man' (with the regular loss of initial **ne- before single obstruent [Proulx 1984:197], and added nominalizers), PA *na:pe:wa 'male, man' A1352 (with archaic ablaut), cf. *aya:pe:wa 'buck' A233.

(285) **pele:gwa 'large bird': PA *pele:wa 'turkey' A1814, 'large fowl, edible game bird' (Siebert 1967:18), PA *pele:hsyiwa 'big bird', Y pregoniŝ 'condor', plege?l 'type of owl' (cf. plegok 'headband of woodpecker scalps'). There are two sources of Y o, **a: and **o (Proulx 1984:181). Since **g gives Pre-Y *w in rounding environments (Proulx 1984:170, n.3), the Y o following these stems must be from **a:. In contrast, in Y preworiɬ 'screech owl' it must be from **o.

This item begins in a root **pel-. Compare PA *pele:hsyiwa 'big bird' (C piye:siw 'Thunderbird', M penɛ:hsiw 'eagle', O pɨne:ssi

'big bird') and *si:pe:hsyiwa 'bird' (Ab síbes, A nii?éhii). For another example of the ending, compare PA *ŝa:nkwe:hsyiwa 'mink' A1968 (with archaic ablaut, reconstructed without the *y) with *ŝenkwehsa 'weasel' A1985 (with diminutive *-ehs).

(286) **s?e:gw... 'madrone': W ŝágiŝɨ?n, Y s?e?goh 'madrone tree'.[2]

(287) **ŝegw-, **ŝagw-, **segegw- 'be tired of': (a) Y ceg- (in cegeyonepek? 'I'm annoyed' NB.1:61), cega?roy- 'hear with distaste' and cegeyolok? 'I'm tired of hearing it'), (b) PA *ŝaw- 'be tired' (Pe sawahto- [Voorhis 1979:65], Ms sauunum 'she is tired, weary, faint', Nr nissówanis 'I'm weary', cf. Mc sewik'na:t 'she's ill, listless'), (c) PA *ŝi:w- (Mc siwiyet 'she's frustrated, bored', Mc siwsɨtax 'I'm tired of hearing her', Ps siw-, Pe nsíwelɨtam 'I'm weary of mind' [Seeber 1983:301], Mah nia n'schewochsannè 'I'm tired'), Y sweget- 'be tired of' (with the transitive unipersonal final -Vt, see #178).

As two of the examples show, Y ceg- generally has the postradical extension **-Vy. The Y w from **g in Y sweg- is not unexpected: underlying Y ege dissimilates to Pre-Y *ewe (and thence contracts to Y u:) before a labiovelar (see Proulx 1984:170, fn.3). Here contraction is not possible because of early loss of the initial weak **e, regular in a first syllable between an obstruent and a consonant other than g (see Proulx 1984:186).

Y sweg- is always replaced by swey- in my fieldnotes before an element beginning in Y o, typically the postradical extension Y -on. Since the Yurok sequences eg-o and ey-o both contract to o:, and there are many analogical restorations of the underlying sequences (Proulx 1985b:137), the sequence eyo here is probably just an unetymological restoration from o:. Alternatively, we may suspect a dissimilation of the feature [+back] such as seen in Algonquian yo: from underlying wo: (compare K ayo:- 'use it' and aw- 'use her'). Also, O e:w-o gives e:yo (Bloomfield 1957:21). The stem Robins cites as sweget- above appears as swewet- in my fieldnotes (Nb. 4:47) - suggesting assimilation of g to w for some speakers.

(288) **thegw-, **thagw-, **thegegw- 'through an opening, passage, space, or door; out': (a) Y tewoye?ewey- 'stick out'; (b) PA *taw-; (c) W thig- 'out' (e.g., thigɨtal- 'go out'). Y tewoye?ewey- 'stick out' consists of -e?wey 'face' and postradical -Vy as in ce?l(oy)- 'dry', nekom(uy)- 'well', neskw(ey)- 'annoying', nohp(uy)- 'into', sek(oy)- 'fast', and wohp(ey)- 'across'. Evidently, the **gw gives Y w under influence of the following o (from **o ?) and/or the ?w in the next element.

PA *taw- 'through an opening, passage, space, or door; out': C

tawapiwak 'they sit leaving a passage between', tawi:stawe:w 'she makes room for her, open the tent for her', RhO dwaashing 'she falls through the ice' and dwaahbaan 'a water hole in the ice', Mc tewoxpit 'she sticks out', tewčẽ:k 'she or it has a hole'; Mc tewiyet 'she goes out' (with initial change and the final -iye 'motion'), wet-tu:yet 'she comes out of there'. Also PA *tawayewi 'there's an opening, it's an opening': F tawa:wi 'it's an opening', C tawa:w 'it's an opening, there's room, come in', NiO dawaa 'there's room'.

(289) **wanri?a:gwi, **wenli?a:gwi 'coals, charcoal': (a) deverbal PA *-anšye:wi (in *matkanšye:wi 'charcoal' S52 beside *matkate:w- 'black', and in PA *katkanšye:wi 'charcoal' S52 beside C kaskite:wa:w 'it's black'); (b) W wɨràg 'coals' (grade 2-3), Y lo?og, cf. mecewolo? 'live embers, coals'. PA *e: rather than expected *a: in this word is probably analogical reshaping modeled on the many verb endings where apparently *a: alternates to *e: before *w (*nenepa: 'I sleep' A1444 [reconstructed with short *a] beside *nepe:wa 'she sleeps' A1462).

2. Types of Stems

Algic languages have two types of stems, independent and dependent. Dependent noun stems begin in **i:, **o:, in a consonant other than **p or **k(w), or, in one isolated Algonquian case, in **e:. Independent nouns have no special phonological characteristics.

In those cases where a dependent noun stem is paired with a medial beginning in **p or **k(w), a prefix receptor (**-c, **-s and **-S, **-ɬ, or **-t) is added between them. (This pattern is partly obscured by the tendency to analogically add the prefix receptor to the medial as well in some cases.) In the following examples, parentheses enclose optional analogical consonants attested by some languages:

**-ckitwen-, **-čkitwen- 'throat' #152, medial **-V(c)kit, **-V(č)kit #152.

**-skwVtkan 'neck' #267, medial **-V(s)kw #165.

**-tka:t, **-čka:č 'leg' #10, medial **-eka:t 'leg' #143, **-Vt 'foot' #167, **-Vtk and **-Včk 'body, leg, foot' #168.

**-tkančeg, **-čkančeg 'fingernail' #134, medial **-ekančeg #141. Compare **w?etkančege, **w?ečkenčege 'hoof, claw' #39.

**w?eɬkan 'bone' #26, medial *-kan (PA *-kan).

Although synchronic evidence is ambiguous, 'chest (body part)' #343 probably also follows the same pattern. For an example with **-S, see 'skin' (sec.4.4 #280). If the final Y -eɬ in Y -erpeɬ 'tooth' is a nominalizer (see sec.3.2 below), then medial **-V?p 'by tooth, bite, eat' #158 is related, showing that **-l is also a prefix receptor.

3. Secondary Noun Stems

Secondary noun stems consist of (A) a primary stem plus diminutive(-meliorative) suffix, or (B) a verb stem plus a nominalizing suffix. There is an augmentative(-pejorative) suffix as well as a diminutive one, but it requires a following nominalizing suffix when used in nouns. See Proulx (1984:sec.2) for matching (diminutive and augmentative) sound symbolism.

3.1. Diminutive and Augmentative Suffixes. They are:

(290) **-V́nc secondary final 'diminutive' #137, 189: PA *-éns, W -ác and -íc. Examples in nouns: PA *a?lapa:pyénsa 'little cord' beside PA *a?lapa:pya 'cord' and *aɬemwénsa 'little dog' beside *aɬemwa 'dog', W cakíc 'young spruce' (tak- 'spruce'). Examples in verbs: Mc kesinukwa:ĉi:ĉit 'she's a little bit sick' beside kesinukwa:t 'she's sick', M tahki:hsewew 'it's a bit cold' beside tahkiw 'it's cold', and W rariŝwác- 'hum' beside lalisw- 'sing'.

Diminutives are also used with the specialized meaning 'person': PA *-éns (Sh -eLθa in mtekwa:piti:θa 'bowstring person' p.356, wi:pe:mine:θa 'corn-chops person' p.413, nepi:θa 'water person' [cf. M nepi:s 'dwelling in water'], Sh ŝkote:θa 'fire person', ka?ŝile:θa 'rough person', and kiŝpoko:θa 'person of the kiŝpoko division'; cf. Mc wa:we:ĉ 'eggman', na:newa:ĉ 'fifth person' - with diminutive shift of s to ĉ); PA *-énh in F wa:sahkamiko:ha 'person of a distant land'. W kɨbúcɨkwiɬ 'female human' beside kɨbúĉɨkɨ?w 'doe' shows diminutive versus augmentative consonant symbolism associated with the notion of 'human being'. Berman (1986:419) suggests that Y -Vs is a diminutive suffix, so compare also Y punomeyos 'person groaning in sleep', ka:mes 'mythical water monster', cf. productive Y -iŝon 'person' (with accretion on and automatic shift of s to ŝ after i).

(291) **-Vĉk, **-tk 'augmentative- pejorative': PA *-ŝk 'pejorative; habitual action' (O -ŝk), W -ɨĉk 'augmentative-pejorative' T68, 30; PA *-tk 'pejorative; habitual action' (M -hk). Menominee also has -ck, a showing secondary

consonant-grade alternation from Pre-Menominee *-tk (Pentland 1983:389). This element is chiefly found in verbs in Algonquian, but also in verbal nouns (e.g., M keno:hken 'a lie') - where it is followed by a nominalizing suffix such as **-Vn. The link vowel between the two elements is not always as in M keno:hken. Compare, e.g., PA *apitkan 'pack strap (lit. 'what one habitually uses for tying)': M ape:hkan, RhO bikan (with root **aph- 'tie, cord' #347). See sec.4.1 for the evolution of this sequence.

Examples: O k±ttim±ŝki 'she's lazy', ki:nuwiŝki 'she tells a lie', k±ŝa:we:nc±ke:ŝki 'she's envious of disposition' eO:72; M ta:?takacehkiw 'she's lazy' beside ta:?takacew 'she's unwilling', s<:kesi:hkiw 'she's easily frightened' beside s<:kesew 'she's frightened', kemo:t<hkow 'she's a thief' beside kemo:t<w 'she steals it' ML:277-8; W l±pĉá?y±w±ĉk 'storm cloud, large cloud' (stem l±pta?w- 'cloud' T68), hinàd piĉuĉk±dik 'our grandfather' (cf. W piĉúk 'my great-grandfather', with a different suffix). My Wiyot examples all involve nouns, but the W -±d in the last suggests that it too may be followed by **-Vn (which drops in wordfinal position).

3.2. Nominalizers. It is well known that in Proto-Algonquian the 2 main suffixes for marking the third-person in verbs are homophonous with nominalizing ones. Thus, PA independent *-w 'definite third-person subject' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.34) beside PA *-w 'agent noun' A2074 give the likes of M anohki:w 'she works; worker' and M na:na:w 'she is invited, someone invites her; invited guest'. Less significantly, since all conjunct verbs produce participles, PA conjunct *-t 'definite third-person subject' A2000 forms third-person participles (e.g., F e:ŝihto:ta 'she who built them', Bloomfield 1927:213) as well as subordinate verbs (e.g., F pi:tike:ĉi 'when she had entered' Bloomfield 1927:204 [with mutation of *-t to -ĉ]). See also **-Vn below for indefinite-subject *-na beside verbal abstract *-n.

In Wiyot, an example of the same pattern is -ì± 'agent; third-person subject': kakwì± 'old man, he is old'.

There are traces of a similar pattern in Yurok. Thus, beside Y -Vr 'nominalizer' there is also the third-person ending Y -ol, a free variant of Y -okw in some verbs: hego?l = hegok?w 'she goes' R34. (Y r and l are grade variants of one another.) Examples of the nominalizing function are: rorir 'snow' beside ror- 'to snow'), ?weskul 'strap' from **w?erkw- 'wrap with a bundle-strap' #37.

Proto-Algic too had nominalizing suffixes homophonous with those of third-person subjects of verbs. In the list that follows, the two endings of each pair are reconstructed separately where evidence permits such separate reconstruction. Otherwise

the reconstructible ending of the presumed pair is given, together with the evidence that it may have also had a counterpart.

(292) **-Vk 'nominalizer': PA *-a:kan 'undergoer' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.62), PA *-ikan (M -ekan [Bloomfield 1962:sec.14.66]), W -ɨk and -ik, Y -uk in cwinkuk 'sayings, language' (beside cwinkep- 'say', with mediopassive -ep), Y pekoyek 'blood' (pekoy- 'be red'). Algonquian reinforces the ending with the nominalizer **-Vn.

Examples are: C oyaha:kan 'person placed', M a:tɬ?no:hkakan 'sacred story' (with animate gender), o:cekan 'useful person or thing' (cf. o:tam 'she uses something on it'), and neta:nɬhkopecekan 'my grandchild' (ML p.236); M paskuahkihekan 'hoe'), W balɨk 'salmon' (root 'to feast'), ɬácik 'tradition' (root 'tell traditions'), ciwɨriyú?wɨk 'violin playing' (ciwɨriyú?wɨɨ 'violin bow'), T65.

(293) **-Vk 'third-person subject': PA *-k A499-500, W -ik. Examples are: PA *kemiwanki 'when it rains' A696; Wiyot kɬɨtik '(it's) hot' beside kɬɨtil 'I feel hot, have a fever', ta kɬátik 'a hot place', ŝuwa kasbáwik 'how far is it?', ku takwáwik 'where it's shady', ta thigɨ́ɨik 'where one goes out', ku danátɨtkɨpɬik 'where there's a big bunch', kɨcɬáwik '(it's) cold', and sbawi ɬáwik 'it's far away'.

(294) **-Vm 'nominalizer': PA *-m 'agent of a stative verb', e.g., *-nte:mi 'house' beside *keno:nte:- 'be a long house' (Proulx 1982:fn.5), W -i?m (táli?m 'what lies there' T26, with secondary laryngealization to help distinguish it from otherwise homophonous tá?lib 'it lies there', with third-person -ib T76). Apparently reinforced with **-Vn in PA *mo:hkwema:ni 'knife' (C mo:hkoma:n, NiO mookomaan) - compare O pi:ntɨkkoma:n 'knife sheath', and bO niniskigomân 'my snot' beside K oskikoma 'her snot'. This ending is not particularly common, and neither is the corresponding verb inflection (**-Vm 'third-person subject').

(295) **-Vm 'third-person subject': PA *-m (used in a few irregular AI verbs of state or motion), W -ib (in class S-id stative verbs), Y -om (in class 2 o-stem verbs, always reinforced with the regular [e-class] ending). Examples are: B aippiima 'she enters' beside nitaippii 'I enter' (Frantz 1971:18), uB áikòpum 'she's afraid' beside nit'aikop 'I'm afraid'; W lɨɨɨ́lib 'she's burned' beside lɨɨɨ́lìl 'I'm burned'; Y kwoyco?m 'she goes slowly' beside kwoycok? 'I go slowly', kohto:lîŝomin 'she hits' beside kohto:lîŝoh 'I hit' R59. Examples with implied objects: Y ɬo?m 'she takes (something)', ɬo:k? 'I take (something)'; newo?m 'she sees (something)', newok? 'I see (something)'.

(296) **-Vn 'nominalizer': PA *-n (often with extensions)

'action, product, instrument' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.62); Y -in 'third person attributive' R59 (ku kepoyurin 'swimmer' R65, beside Y kepoyur- 'swim'). Compare W -ɨd 'third-person subject' T76 (lɨ́?gɨd 'she's heavy' beside lɨgáwɨl 'I'm heavy'), W -ad (datbɨlàd 'it's a large building; a large building' T77, 66).

(297) **-Vn or **-Vnag 'indefinite subject' #214. The possible role of **-Vg 'nonimmediate' #203 in preventing the loss of final sonorants by word-shortening in verb inflection is not clear, despite my earlier conclusions on the matter (Proulx 1982:408). Whatever the reason, of the verb endings only **-Vn 'I' #211 is so shortened. If **-Vg is not involved here, its reconstruction in the indefinite subject ending (#214) may not be required for Proto-Algic (though it was surely present in PA).

(298) **-Vɬ 'nominalizer': W -ìɬ 'agent', -ɨɬ 'instrument'; Y -Vɬ.

Examples are: W kakwìɬ 'old man, he is old', ɨ́sɨrá?wɨɬ 'pestle' (root **as?ola:?w- 'pound' #120); Y ma?ahskeɬ 'a spear' (ma?ahsk- 'to spear'), teloyu:ɬ 'a lie' (with regular contraction of ew-e to u:, cf. teloyew- 'tell lies'), puso:?meɬ 'a place with an animal smell' beside puso:?molek? 'I smell of skunk or cat', Y cek?ceyoɬ 'a place of meditation' beside cek?ceyek? 'I sit' Nb.3:3, and Y kɨ́tkɨɬ 'trout-fishing pole' (root *kwetk- 'angle' #342).

**-Vɬ 'third-person subject' #201.

(299) **-...? 'nominalizer': W -...?, Y -...?. This element laryngealizes the preceding element as follows: in Wiyot, glottal catch follows the next preceding vowel; in Yurok, a final obstruent is glottalized and glottal catch precedes a final sonorant. Examples are: W púwutwu?y 'cooking utensils, lit. what someone cooks with' (púw- 'cook', -utw 'with something', -uy 'someone'), kítu?n 'last row on a basket' (kítunɨbiɬ 'she gets through weaving it'); Y ro:wo?s 'a pipe' (ro:wos- 'smoke a pipe'), curp?ɨ?y 'a comb' (curp?ɨy 'comb' (uninflected verb)). It is commonly used to strengthen other nominalizing suffixes in Wiyot (e.g., **-Vm, **-Vn, **-Vy), and, more rarely, in Yurok. In at least one case, this produces a minimally contrastive pair: Y ɬmeyu?wɨy 'a mean face; a raw, windy day' beside ɬmeyu?wɨ?y 'a person with a mean face'. Here, the laryngealization seems to mean 'a person having X'.

**-...? 'third-person subject' #218.

(300) **-V? 'third-person subject': W -i? 'third-person subject of relative clause' (kasbúkati? 'how long it cooks', with -at 'cook, heat'; tɨlakáwi? 'how they make it'), Y -o? (ɬko? 'she gathers acorns', sekitko? 'she's strong' R35). Compare W -V? 'goal

noun' (bíwi? 'food' T64, stem biw- 'eat it' T59; khal±w±lú? 'pack basket').

(301) **-V́ 'nominalizer': W -ì (lu?lì 'a leak', with secondary laryngealization - see **-...? #299), Y -oh 'third person attributive' (kohto:liŝoh 'she who hits' R59). Compare W -ì 'third person stative' (tulì 'she's wet').

(302) **-Vl, **-Vr 'nominalizer': (a) Y -Vr (cwinkor 'word, lit., that which is said' beside cwinkuk 'sayings, language', rorir 'snow' beside ror- 'to snow'), tekwonur 'hammer' (**tekw- 'pound' #14 and **-Vn 'postradical increment' - see appendix B);[3] W -il T107 (ku?wíl 'person', root ku?w- 'be alive'); (b) W -aŝ (k±racbíwaŝ 'pubescent girls' beside hu-ta-k±racbíwikw±?l 'girls' pubescent ceremonies' T232); Y -Vs (punomeyos 'a person groaning in her sleep' beside punomeyo:cek? 'I groan in my sleep', with -o:c 'sound'; ka:mes 'mythical water monster', with root ka:m- 'bad'). See Berman (1986) for further Yurok examples. There is also the third-person ending Y -ol, a free variant of Y -okw in some verbs: hego?l = hegok?w 'she goes' R34, so:tolin = so:tokwin 'she who goes' R60.

(304) **-Vw 'nominalizer': PA *-w 'agent noun' A2074, PA *-a:w 'undergoer' A68, W -a?w 'product' (in phigá?w 'bruises', from **ahpi:g- 'to bruise' #339). Compare Y -ew in mesew 'ointment' beside mesi:gonoyek? 'I'm massaged' and me?repinek? 'I rub or massage something round' (see **mel?- #344). Compare PA *-w 'third-person subject' (Bloomfield 1946:sec.34).

(305) **-Vy 'indefinite subject': PA *-a:y (Potawatomi wapmay± 'she's seen' (Hockett 1948:67)), W -Vy (e.g., k±m±ruy 'someone steals food', h±sk±pay 'someone bites a piece'). Note that Potawatomi -ay is used only with a third-person undergoer.

Proto-Algic had theme sign zero for nonlocal objects (see #198), and action on a third person takes intransitive inflection, i.e. 'someone' = 'someone-her'. This element also turns up as a mediopassive derivational suffix ('someone-her' ---> 'she [mediopassive]'), extending analogically to first and second person patients ('I/thou [mediopassive]').

3.3. Origins. It may initially seem surprising that Proto-Algic should have had such a large number of nominalizing suffixes, and that most if not all should be homophonous with third-person verbal endings. But the reason is not long in seeking.

On the one hand, Greenberg (1978:73) has pointed out that demonstrative pronouns frequently get incorporated into the nouns they modify - where they will become gender markers in a language with gender, and otherwise simply markers of nominality. Such

markers of nominality then tend to be used to nominalize verb stems. On the other hand, he (ibid. p.75) also finds that demonstratives commonly replace third-person pronouns, and it has long been known that personal pronouns are a source for verb affixes marking person. In addition, I have argued (Proulx 1982:sec.1.2-1.3) that Algic syntax makes likely the evolution of nouns derived from verb stems into independent verbs (via their use as predicators).

It is not always clear which of these routes has been taken in a particular case, but there can be little doubt that demonstratives and other pronouns are the ultimate source for the nominalizers and third-person verb endings we have been considering. Compare:

PRONOUN	NOMINALIZER	3-P SUB. OF VERB
**m- 'proximal locative' #244	**-Vm	**-Vm
**n- 'distal locative' #245-246	**-Vn	**-Vn(ag)
**w- 'this' #239-241	**-Vw	(PA *-w)
**y- 'that' #242-243	(W -V?y)	**-Vy
**l/r- 'like that' #255	**-Vl/r	(Y -ol)
**t- 'the one (first mention)' #253	(PA *-t)	(PA *-t)
**k- 'the one (later mention)' #251	**-Vk	**-Vk
**?- 'relative pronoun' #259	**-...?	**-...?
	(W -V?)	**-V?
(W ɬ- 'interrogative')	**-Vɬ	**-Vɬ
(Y ho 'to')	**-V	(W -i)

These pronominal elements were evidently followed by inflectional vowels in Proto-Algic, but it is a moot point whether any of these marked gender in the proto-language itself. However, they clearly do in Algonquian, and there the incorporation of pronominal elements into nouns and verbs is no doubt the main route by which gender comes to be expressed.

In any case, Greenberg's hypothesis can be refined a bit at this point: it is not that demonstrative pronouns always become

gender markers in a language with gender, and simply markers of nominality in those lacking it. Where the pronouns in question inflect for gender, and both the pronominal root and its inflection are incorporated into nouns or verbs, the former is likely to become a marker of nominality even as the latter comes to express gender.

Five of what appear to be these same pronominal elements (the first four and **k-) are also used as postradical extensions of verb roots (see appendix B). Evidently, their tendency to become incorporated into other words is ancient - dating to a time when verb roots could function as independent verbs. It is not clear whether they were used as nominalizers at that time.

4. Primary Noun Stems

Primary stems consist of a general root, optionally a medial, and nearly always a final (or rarely two). Medials are always relatively concrete in meaning, finals usually abstract.

4.1. Finals. A few nouns end in an abstract final resembling one of the nominalizers or third-person endings described in sec. 3.2 above. A good example of a noun attested with more than one such final is **atk-, **aĉk- 'earth, land' #349, medial **-atk. It is found primarily with **-ey, as in PA *atkyi 'land' A228 and Y ɬkey(om) 'clay' and ɬkeyomi? 'it's dirty', but compare Y ɬkeɬ 'land' and ɬkoɬ 'mud' (with **-Vɬ), and Y skelomoyek? 'I'm covered with dirt' Nb. 4:10 (with **-Vl). The last Yurok form shows the productive Y ɬ to s alternation initially. The bare root is seen with locative **-ayew in Y heɬkew 'a place toward the mountains', while the medial is seen in W -ɨtk 'land' (bɨcɬwɨtkɨk 'on dry land'). Cf. PA *aŝiŝkiwi 'mud' (F aŝiŝkiwi, C asiskiy, Mc sisku), perhaps with **ar- 'so, such' #255 prefixed, and final **-Vw.

Other words, which I earlier interpreted as showing regular phonological correspondences (Proulx 1984:177), match **-Vɬ, **-Vl, and **-Vn. A good example of this type is PA *-to:ni 'mouth' with final **-Vn, W -lùl with final **-Vl, and Y -luɬ with final **-Vɬ. The dependent medial is **-tlo: or **-tlew 'mouth', medial **-ew (Y -ew as in ?ek?ewetek? 'I hold it in my mouth'). Another of this type is PA *-tpani (Sh -?pani), Y -tp?oɬ 'vulva' (dependent stem **-tp?). Finally, **cawoni 'fishnet' #341 has a final **-Vn, cf. Pe ĉawáhpɨnikan 'net sinker' (Seeber 1983:301).

Two longer abstract finals are reconstructible:

(306) **-tkan 'abstract final'. This ending probably consists of **-Vĉk, **-tk 'augmentative-pejorative' (see #291)

plus the nominalizer **-Vn. Found in **-skwVtkani 'neck' #267 beside medial **-Vskw #165. PA (with *-ɬkwe:kani) shows a loss of *t between a long vowel and obstruent. Note the same loss in Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1957:53) and compare losses of *n in the same environment (Proulx 1984:196). This final regularly gives PA *-kan (with analogical loss of **t in environments where it would not drop by sound change), but the archaic form is also preserved in PA *apitkan 'pack strap' (M ape:hkan, RhO bikan).

This may be the source of the noun final PA *-kan, used 'to generalize a meaning and hence reverse semantic specialization' (Proulx 1984:189), i.e., to include a larger area in a body-part term (compare C -i:picikan 'gums' with -i:pit 'teeth', and -so:kan 'buttocks' with -soy 'quadruped's tail'). An augmentative nominalizer is appropriate here since its function is to expand a semantic field. (Pre-PA long closed vowels are shortened in PA, except in the first syllable of a stem [Proulx 1984:193].) If **-tkan is in fact the source for this PA *-kan, the use of this suffix in Algonquian is not altogether different from its use in Wiyot to mark kin terms of the second ascending generation: in both cases the referent is marked as being displaced from the center of a semantic field (counting EGO as the center of kin terminology). This would then be a basic sense of 'augmentative' in Algic.

Frequently, the extended has simply replaced the simple form. Examples are: PA *-tpike:kani 'rib' A1598 (from **-tpeyekhe:-tkani) beside PA *-tpikani 'rib' #91 (from **-tpeyekhe:-ni, with archaic replacement of **e: by *a, see Goddard 1974); Ms mohpanag and mohpânneg 'breast', Nr wohpanagash 'breasts' from PA *-hpa:le:w-Vkani (see **-hpa:le:wi 'in front' #312); Mc usk'nik'n from PA *weŝkwan-ikani 'elbow' (see **weĉekwani #322). Note that *e:w-V contracts in Massachussett and Narragansett. PA *-kan, with various link vowels, comes to be widely used as an equivalent of simple *-n.

(307) **-wan, **-wen 'abstract final'. Found in two cases of dependent noun stems derived from medials: W -kwhɨd, and Y -kwen from **-k medial 'chest (body part)' #140; and PA *-skitweni from medial **-Vckit, **-Vĉkit 'throat' #152. In one case, addition is to a dependent noun stem: PA *-ɬkwani 'chest' from **-ɬk dependent noun 'chest (body part)'.

Rarely, a noun final is concrete in meaning. The only examples are **-ay 'skin' and **-V? 'tree, stem'. Both also occur as medials, and, as finals, follow medials similar to themselves in meaning (to the extent that the meaning of the preceding element can be ascertained). Perhaps these sequences should be thought of as compound medials, rather than as genuine medial-plus-final combinations. They are exemplified in the

following:

**waSlak-, **waSlek-, **waSrak-, medial **-erek- and **-arek- 'skin' #280, mostly reinforced with the final **-ay 'skin' #53: (a) PA *wa?lakaya 'skin, scale' (C wahyakay 'scale', Mc wa:xi 'skin'), (b) Y srahkwoh 'loincloth', slekwoh 'shirt' and slekwslekw 'clothes', (c) PA *wa?ŝakaya (C wasakay, r10 waŝakay); (d) PA *-eŝkaya (in *-ɬameŝkaya 'inner skin, membrane' S176), W wɨ́tkay 'skin' (incorporation the third-person prefix), Y skoy 'strip of buckskin'.

(308) **-V? 'tree, stem': W -áti? 'tree, wood' (máti? 'wood', wikwáti? 'pine or fir trees'), Y -o? 'tree, stem' (tɨ:pɨnɨ? 'fir tree' beside te:po 'tree' and te:ponoɬ 'in a forest', pɨkwɨnɨ? 'Indian asparagus' from **pekwan- #69, pkwo?olo? 'maple' (cf. pkwo?ol- 'emerge through a barrier', perhaps a reference to its sap). Also found in **thi?ema:?i 'elderberry (bush)' #66. Cf. **-Vlt 'l-dimensional'.

4.2. Medials. Noun medials are often followed by what Bloomfield (1946:sec.59) calls 'a final of the form zero'. However, these often end in one of the sequences described in sec. 4.3 below. Moreover, in the case of **-aɬw 'plant' we can probably segment **-Vw 'abstract final': W -ɨ́ɬat beside -ɨ́ɬwat 'plant' must result from an optional lack of the final before the secondary final W -at. Reconstructible noun medials are:

(309) **-aɬw 'plant': PA *-aɬwi (Sh -alwi in mŝke:kwalwi 'lake plant' beside mŝke:kowali 'lakes'), W -ɨ́ɬwat and -ɨ́ɬat 'plant' T68 (e.g., laŝɨ́lwat 'strawberry vine' beside laŝ 'strawberry', bikhwɨ́lɨ́ɬwat 'salalberry bush' beside bikhwɨ́l 'salal berry'; wákɨ́ɬat 'pepperwood tree' with haplology beside wakɨ́l-'peppernuts'). Wiyot adds **-Vlt 'l-dimensional'.

(310) **-ayeɬ 'liquid': W -éɬ (e.g., hatbútkayɨwéɬ 'muddy water' beside hatbútka?w 'mud', siswéɬi? 'coffee' beside sisw 'dark'), Y -ɨy(e)ɬ (e.g., lɨ?ɨgɨyɬ 'dark brackish water' beside lo?og 'coals', lɨhpɨyeɬ 'saliva, spittle' beside lohp- 'come in lumps').

(311) **-Vyaki 'kind, sort, way, place, time': PA *-ayaki (F nekotayaki 'one group or set', ni:ŝwayaki 'two kinds', C pe:yakwayak 'one way, kind, place', nistwayak 'in three ways, kinds, places', ne:wayak 'in four ways, fourfold'), PA *-iyaki (in *(a)wiyaka 'someone, anyone' A220, M we:yak 'all sorts, any sort, some sort'), Y so:k 'that sort' (root **ar- 'like that' #255. A contraction of Proto-Algic *aya to Y o: seems plausible, as this is the established reflex of *a:wa (Proulx 1984:186).

Others, part of larger reconstructions, are: **-Vt 'foot'

#167 in **-tka:ti 'leg' #10, **-(e)rek- 'skin' in **waSlek- 'skin' #280, **-Vlt 'l-dimensional' #281 in **sema:lt- 'bow' #282, **-ehtl? ˈby ear' in **ŝepehtl?e 'ear' #92.

4.3. Unanalyzable Nouns. Most nouns in this category end in a sequence resembling one of the nominalizers or third-person endings described in sec. 3.2 above. Apart from this resemblance, however, there is no basis for segmentation. A some nouns end in sequences that lack even this resemblance (sec.4.4).

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vw ARE:

**kela:hkewe, **kegela:hkewe 'goose, geese' #106.

**kenlegewe 'hawk species (brownish)' #75.

**le:k?awe 'sand' #72.

**wa:wa?lewe 'egg' #3.

**-tko?we, **-cko?we 'blood' #126 belongs here too, if the glottal catch is secondary in Wiyot (as it often is).

(312) **-hpa:le:we 'front part': PA *-hpa:le:wi 'chest (body part)' (Sh ho?pale:wa:ki 'their chests' and nim?ŝipale:we 'I have a big chest', Mi palawi 'chest', M -hpa:n<:w 'thorax, chest', compare Ms mohpanag and mohpânneg 'breast', Nr wohpanagash 'breasts', Mah -achpássei 'breast, side'); Y -poyew 'ahead, in front of' (e.g., nekah nepoyew 'in front of us', Robins 1958:136). An extension *-kan is added in Massachussett and Narragansett, which later loose a final PA *Vn. For a replacement of **l by Y y, compare Y keyom- (in free variation with kelom-) from **kelom- 'turn' #49.

(313) **-wi:wa 'wife': PA *-wi:wa (niO niwiiw 'my wife'), W dúwiw 'my wife'. **w?i:wali 'his wife' (with obviative **-ali): PA *wi:wali A2257; W wiwɨ?l T152. Also **wi:w- 'take or have as wife, fuck': PA *wi:wi- S243 (also pseudotransitive, see Wolfart 1986:386-389), PA *wi:wim- TA 'have or take someone as one's wife' (bO nin wiwima 'I take her for a wife', C wîwim- [ibid., p.387]), W talɨ-wi?wamiɨ 'he's fucking her' (ta-'durative' T88, automatic -lɨ T27, -am '3-obj. theme' T74). While the Algonquian stems are usually glossed to reflect the social rather than sexual relationship, both are implied: C ê, ê-kî-ta-têpîhkâkot ê-kî-wîwimikot,... 'Now, when the other had had enough of copulating with him,...' (ibid., p.389). Cf. W wi?yīɨ 'she's pregnant and married'.

(314) **-o:teTkohc?riw-, **-o:teTkoht?liw- (T = ɨ, l, t) 'kidney': PA *-o:te:Hkohsiw- (H = ɨ, h, t) (bO odôdikossiwan 'her

kidney'). W uc$\dot{\text{ł}}$ck$\dot{\text{ł}}$?r$\dot{\text{ł}}$w$\dot{\text{ł}}$?l 'her kidney' (grade 2). Note: O uto:n$\dot{\text{ł}}$kkossuwan is contaminated by PA *-o:łeła 'kidney' (M neto:nene:hsak 'my kidneys', Ab odolló 'her kidney', A betííθiθ, Ch nahtsestsétatse 'my kidney').

(315a) **asewe 'projectile point': PA *ałwi 'arrow' A214, W h$\dot{\text{ł}}$s 'harpoon head'. There is also a verb, **asew-, **esew-, **eŝew-, **aŝew- 'point': (a) PA *ałoːh- (F anoːh-), (b) PA *ełoːh (C itoːh-, M enoːh-) 'point' (with final *-h 'by tool' B80), (c) W ŝuri- (with ri of unknown origin, as in ta-?ŝuri$\dot{\text{ł}}$ 'she's pointing' and ta-?ŝurími$\dot{\text{ł}}$ 'she's pointing at it'), (d) Y c$\dot{\text{ł}}$w$\dot{\text{ł}}$hs- (with final -Vhs).

Compare C itwahikanicihcân 'index finger' (Wolfart 1987:37), and PA *łoːhika '7' (F noːhika, M noːhikan, Ps $\dot{\text{ł}}$luwik$\dot{\text{ł}}$n$\dot{\text{ł}}$k, Mc el$\dot{\text{ł}}$wik'nik) - from Pre-PA *ełoːhikani 'pointer' with regular word-shortening, and loss of initial **e before a sonorant. Mc nt'luwik'n 'my finger' shows retention of this **e after a prefix, and it is analogically restored in verbs from their changed forms (as well as in the Micmac and Passamaquoddy words). Micmac and Passamaquoddy also add the number suffix *-yeka (Siebert 1975:303).

(315b) Somehow associated with this root is **aːʔlewe, attested by Y horew 'something with a pointed end like an arrow' (Berman) and W á?l$\dot{\text{ł}}$w '7'. Possibly, **a?rew- gave **aːʔlewe by archaic ablaut and a shift of consonant grade; and all the other forms by shifts of vowel grade, a secondary change in consonant grade in Pre-Yurok (*s to *ŝ), and reanalysis of **ar as **ar- 'thither' #255 in Algonquian.[4]

(316) **pe$\dot{\text{ł}}$e$\dot{\text{ł}}$kewe, final **-Vpe$\dot{\text{ł}}$e$\dot{\text{ł}}$kewe 'rock': W p$\dot{\text{ł}}\dot{\text{ł}}$tk 'rock', p$\dot{\text{ł}}\dot{\text{ł}}$cwicac 'pebbles', p$\dot{\text{ł}}\dot{\text{ł}}$twakw 'on the rock', Y pe$\dot{\text{ł}}$ko$\dot{\text{ł}}$ 'gravel' (Gensler 1987:G.3.e.vi), PA *-aːpe$\dot{\text{ł}}$kwi 'rock, stone' A53 and medial *-aːpe$\dot{\text{ł}}$k 'stone, metal' A51, and compare Pe màhsihpskw 'flint' S57. Both Yurok and PA show haplology (unless Wiyot has a different initial, such as **pel- 'big'). For segmentation of Y -o$\dot{\text{ł}}$, compare $\dot{\text{ł}}$ko$\dot{\text{ł}}$ 'mud' (**atk-, **aĉk- 'earth, land' #349).

(317) **w?echowe, medial **-thow 'quadruped-tail': (a) PA *-so(ː)wi (F -soːwaːnowi, C -soy (but C osoːwaːniwaskwah 'horse-tail hairs'), M -soːw, O - soːwaːnak, Sh -θowaːlow, Mi anzoyi); (b) W (hu)w$\dot{\text{ł}}$thi?l 'her tail' (grade 1). Evidently *ow drops in Wiyot after a consonant. Compare PA *-twiyeː medial 'tail' A983 (possibly adding link **iː, productive body-part *-eː, and automatic *-y).

(318) **y?etkweːwe, **y?eĉkweːwe 'maggot': (a) PA *wetkweːwa S248, W yutw, (b) Y ?yekw$\dot{\text{ł}}$ 'maggot' (with metathesis). See 'elbow' #322 and 'fish-tail' #74 for another case of W u from **e

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before **tkw.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vy ARE:

**pe?meye 'grease' #24.

**wareye, **wegeleye 'navel' #110.

(319) **rey(?)-, **ley(?)- 'ropelike': PA *ŝe:- 'cordage' (incorporating link *-e:), Y le(?)y(es) 'snake', where Y -es is a suffix (cf. Berman 1986:420).

PA *ŝe:- 'cordage' (Goddard 1986:fn. 30), e.g., C se:stak 'yarn, twine, thread', se:kipatwa:n 'braid of hair', se:napa:n 'ribbon', se:ske:pison 'garter', M s€?nap(yak) AN 'hemp, cord of dogbane, spreading dogbane', s€?nepa:n 'ribbon, silk, satin', s€?skakot€w 'it (as hair) hangs loose'.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vm ARE:

(320) **elka:yome, **erka:yome 'bat (animal)': W ĉkayɨb(íŝ) (grade 3, with **-Vr #302), Y skoyom.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vn ARE:

**-li:ne 'eye' #45.

**mene, **megene 'berry, berries' #73.

**pekwane- 'rhubarb, Indian ...' #69.

**-sene 'breast' #2.

**-tpeyekhane 'rib' #91.

**w?eĉekwane, **w?eĉegekwane 'fish-tail' #74.

**w?ehtelkwene, **w?ehtelkwane, **w?ehterkwane 'branch' #38.

**w?eɬkane 'bone' #26.

**w?eɬkwene, **w?eɬkwane 'liver' #35.

(321) **pipo:ne 'winter': PA *pepo:ni (F, Sh pepo:ni, M pepo:n, O pɨpo:n, cf. C pipon, with short o); Y kipun. Also **pipo:n- 'be winter': PA *pepo:n- A244, Y kipun-. The initial **p is dissimilated to initial Y k by analogy with Y kisen- 'be summer', kyah 'spring', and kesomeɬ 'autumn'.

(322) **weĉekwane, **wegeĉekwane, **wecekwane 'elbow': PA

*weŝkwani, *-o:ŝkwani, *wi:ŝkani, *-o:skwani W wɨtuk (grade 1), wɨtukɨdɨ?l 'her elbow'. Cf. Y pɨwkwiŝ 'elbow'.

PA *weŝkwani 'elbow' (Pe wɨskwan), *wi:ŝkwani (uD wi:skon, Mi wihkwan, Ms meesk (with *m- for *w-)), *-o:ŝkwani (F oto:ŝkwaneki 'at her elbow', C nito:skwan 'my elbow', Ch nahtse?oonots 'my elbows', Mc usk'nik'n (extended), A bétson (reflecting short *o), PA *-o:ŝkwani (O nɨnto:skwan 'my elbow'). F neto:ŝkwani and M n<htu:hkwan 'my elbow' have unexplained *ht. Compare also B moxkínistsis 'an elbow'.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vl ARE:

**ĉo:la 'aunt, maternal ...' #48.

**meyehkhwel-, **meyehkhwale 'weep, mourn; tear' #89.

**pitekwle, **pitekwale, **piĉekwre 'basket' #111.

**wa:kele 'peppernuts' #101.

(323) **phele 'flint': W phɨl, Y pa?ar(ik) (with Y -i? infixed).

(324) **wel-, **welakhw-, **wegel-, **wegere 'fat': PA *welakw- (Sh holakw-, M ona:kow, K onakwia and F anakwi:wa 'she is fat'), *wi:len- 'be fat' (with *-en 'II final') A2234, *wi:ŝi (C wi:sih 'belly fat'); W duwɨlákhwɨ?lɨw 'my (animal's) fat'; Y wel, welogo: 'fat'.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vɨ ARE:

**mey?eɨe 'nettle' #62.

(325) **ĉep?eɨ-, **ĉa:p?eɨi, **-ĉp?eɨe 'eyelash': (b) W ĉapɨ, (c) Y -ɨp?eɨ.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vg ARE:

**-tkanĉege, **-ĉkanĉege 'fingernail' #134, medial **-ekanĉeg #141.

**w?etkanĉege, **w?eĉkenĉege 'hoof, claw' #39.

**metlage, **megetlege, **megecrege 'dung' #52.

**w?ataphege, **w?eta:phege 'root, fine ... used as cordage' #102.

NOUNS ENDING IN **Vk ARE:

**e?m?i:?ke 'pigeon' #121.

**w?etl?eyepi:teke, **w?etl?eyepi:take 'root' #94, 332). Or alternatively, **w?etley?Vpiteke.

(326) **-tapti:take, **-tapti:teke 'backbone': PA *-ta?taka:w(i)kani, W t±ptítk 'salmon backbone dried with some flesh on it'. PA haplologically drops **ti: before **ta, and compounds this stem with PA *-a:wikani of the same meaning.

PA *-ta?taka:w(i)kani 'backbone': F -tahtaka:kwani (wk ---> kw), O -tatt±ka:w±kan, Ch -estahtoóno PA *-a:wikani 'backbone': C -a:wikan, Mc -o:wik'n, cf. Ps wawik±n, and Sh wa:ka:wikane 'she has a crooked back'.

(327) **-tecake, **-tegeteke 'buttocks': (a) Y -c±k 'bird's tail' (with analogical loss of initial *te - see Proulx 1984:169), (b) PA *-ĉyetki S252. With metathesis, the Lake-Eastern languages have *-skeĉyi (grade 2). Compare also PA *-ŝyi:kani 'rump' S169 (as if from **-ĉegegetekani).

NOUNS WHOSE ENDINGS RESEMBLE DIMINUTIVES ARE:

**?e:nece 'shell, bivalve ...' #84. Cf. **-énc 'diminutive'.

**mekwehce, **megekwehce 'snail' #33. Cf. PA *-ehsa 'diminutive'.

(328) **wayece OR **wayehce 'dog': W wáyic, Y w±yc(?±ks), with -Vks 'child' as in ca:nu:ks 'baby'. Compare PA *-ay- 'dog', diminutive *-ehsa.

No nouns reconstructed thus far end in sequences resembling the remaining nominalizers **-...?, **-V, or W -V? - unless it be **nepi?ye or **nepi?i 'water' #67.

4.4. Nouns Ending in Anything Else. There is some hint that a final postconsonantal **w in some nouns is a separate element in origin, comparable to a final **Vw (see sec.4.31). For example, there is a PA *-aŝk beside *-aŝkw 'brush, grass, herb' #329 below). This should perhaps not be surprising, as there are signs of Pre-Proto-Algic ***e being lost in Proto-Algic - at least as reconstructed (Proulx 1984:202). This is seen when **a (grade 2-3), which normally alternates with **e (grade 1), instead alternates with zero as in 'root' #94. Thus, compare **tak and **tk in Y ?w±?±pit±k and W uw±lápitk±?l 'root'. Similarly, if **wa is an a-grade by-form of the prefix **we- (see sec.5.2 below), and **S is a prefix receptor (see sec.2 above), then medial **-arek-

(grade 2-3) 'skin' suggests that an initial ***e in ***-elek (grade 1) was lost from **waSlek- 'skin' #280. Possibly, the same could be true in some cases of postconsonantal **y and **l.

NOUNS WITH THESE POSSIBILITIES ARE:

**ape:gw-, medial **-a:pe:gw 'male' #284.

**atkehk?we 'pot' #28.

**ihkwe 'louse' #9.

**kega:r?kwe, **kaga:r?kwe, **kaga:l?kwe 'gull' #135.

**nepi?ye or **nepi?i 'water' #67.

**pele:gwe 'large bird' #285.

**penekwe 'powder' #83.

**s?e:gw... 'madrone' #286.

**-tekwle, **cekwre 'heart' #112.

**waɬanye 'tail' #22.

**wenli?a:gwe 'coals, charcoal' #289.

(329) **ma:tkwe, medial **-Vĉkw 'head': (a) PA *-Vtkwe: (with postmedial *-e:, in *-etkwe: [Hewson 1974:item 71], and Sh nikiθa?kwe:na 'I wash her head' and C tapahta:skwe:piw 'she sits with lowered head'), (b) Y moɬkwoh 'head' (-oh 'round thing').

(330) **merkwe, **markwe 'grass, herb, medicine': (a) Y meskwoh 'medicine', cf. meskwoyek? 'I've been given medicine or medical aid' Nb.5:39; (b) PA *maŝkw-'plant, herb, grass' S166, *-aŝkw (F inaŝkwi 'such an herb', C wi:hkaskwa 'sweet grasses', M -askw, O -aŝkw, Mc kata:skul 'eelgrass [pl.]'). Compare also PA *-aŝk (F -aŝki 'brush', M -ask∢nw 'grass, herb').

(331) **weski?tye OR **weskity?e 'hollow tube used in smoking': PA *weɬkiĉyi 'pipestem' (C oskiĉiy, O okkiĉ), Y ska? 'pipe scabbard' (with initial **we dropped as if a third-person prefix). Cf. NiO okijaabik 'stovepipe, tailpipe', and C oskici:hka:n 'stovepipe'. The semantics casts doubt on this reconstruction.

THE REMAINING RECONSTRUCTED NOUNS ARE:

**pegemi:pe 'knife, stone ...' #114.

**wetempe 'head' #90.

**y?o:nĉhe, **y?o:neĉh- 'boat' #118, medial **- ?o:nĉh #151.

(332) **mehŝe 'fire': PA *mehŝi 'firewood' S247, W bɬ́s (grade 1), Y mec.

(333) **rente (OR **sente, **ŝente) 'evergreen tree, brush, or bough': PA *ŝenta A1986, Y stostek? 'small fir tree'.

5. Inflection

The most elaborate inflectional machinery reconstructible for Proto-Algic nouns is that used for allocation. In addition, there are 3 locative suffixes, and 2 that may have reflected gender.

5.1. Allocation. Proto-Algic inflection for possession differs somewhat in independent and dependent nouns, and the latter class has subcategories with further differences. Since the subclasses are based on sometimes subtle semantic distinctions, which may be cultural and hence more or less valid for a given group, the same noun is often treated differently from language to language. In addition, however, it seems likely that some of the rarer variants may sometimes simply have escaped recording.

Dependent nouns typically specify entities whose very definition implies allocation, such as kin, personal property, and parts of prototypically-human wholes. They take PERSONAL inflection for a first, second, or definite third person owner. Some of them, notably those naming body parts, also inflect for an indefinite third-person owner. This last type of inflection is sometimes incorporated into a root (see Bloomfield 1946:sec.103). Independent nouns take optional personal inflection (for definite persons only).

An example of personal inflection is dependent **n?etka:te 'my leg', **k?etka:te 'your leg', **w?etka:te 'her leg', **metka:te '(an animal's) leg (after slaughter)'. An example of possible incorporation into a root is Y meca:nep 'tansy' (cf. ta:nep- 'freshly green, as the new leaves in spring'). Another is **mehŝe 'fire' #332 (see Teeter 1964:sec.4.12). These stems are often hard to distinguish from ordinary stems in initial **m.

Dependent nouns specifying parts of nonhuman wholes take NONPERSONAL inflection for a definite third-person owner, and, optionally, secondary personal inflection for a human owner. An

example is **w?etl?eyepi:teke, **w?etl?eyepi:take 'root' #94. One from Yurok, which shows the part-of-whole semantics nicely, is kohtoh weci:sep? 'one flower' beside kohtek?wo?n ci:sep? 'one flower-bush with flowers' (Haas 1967:359). Here, the prefix marks the flower as part of the flower bush.

In many cases a noun which commonly specifies a part of a nonhuman whole, is also used for a human body part. An example of this is **wetempe 'head' #90. Presumably the prototypical referent here is the animal head (a choice food item). However, Algonquian has a structurally-contrasting dependent counterpart of this noun (without the initial **we-), e.g., Sh hotepi 'her brain' beside C otihpi 'a brain' - the dependent stem taking inflection for an indefinite owner (Ab metep 'tête'). (See #90 for a discussion of the semantic shifts in this item in some languages.) Wiyot instead has secondary inflection for allocation (du?wɨ́tbɨ́t 'her head'). It is not clear if synchronically the Wiyot reference can be to the human's own head as well as her animal's head - if so this is probably a secondary simplification of the inflectional machinery, the Proto-Algic situation being preserved in Algonquian. Another example is personal **-tkanĉege, **-čkanĉege 'fingernail' #134) beside nonpersonal **w?etkanĉege, **w?eč̣kenĉege 'hoof, claw' #39.

Notice how personal inflection for an indefinite owner and impersonal inflection both produce forms glossed 'a head'. It may be that even for native speakers the two forms are synonymous, which would explain why both are rarely if ever attested for the same language. More likely, though, there is a difference in the flavor of the two terms: the former emphasizing that the head once had an owner (hence, personal inflection), the latter regarding it simply as a part of some whole.

5.2. Prefixes. There are only 4 prefixes: **n?e- 'first person', **k?e- 'second person', **w?e- 'third person', and **me- 'indefinite person' ##128-131. In a few cases, **e in these prefixes is absent before a vowel (or is replaced by a vowel). The status of the glottalization in these items (as in several others) is uncertain. The second-person prefix is regular in nouns, but Yurok has simple k in the second-person personal pronoun. In the case of the third-person prefix, Yurok (the only language that would attest it) lacks the glottalization in some cases of nonpersonal inflection, and thus it is not reconstructed: EXAMPLES WITH **w?.

**w?ataphege, **w?eta:phege 'root, fine ... used as cordage' #102.

**w?ecehp?ehkwe, **w?etahp?ehkwe 'backbone' #312.

**w?eč̣ekwane, **w?eč̣egekwane 'fish-tail' #74.

**w?echowe, medial **-thow 'quadruped-tail' #313.

**w?ehtelkwene, **w?ehtelkwane, **w?ehterkwane 'branch' #38.

**w?eɬkane 'bone' #26.

**w?eɬkwene, **w?eɬkwane 'liver' #35.

**w?erkw-, **w?egerkw-, **w?egelkw- 'bundle-strap' #37.

**w?etkanĉege, **w?eĉkenĉege 'hoof, claw' #39.

**w?etl?eyepi:teke, **w?etl?eyepi:take 'root' #94.

EXAMPLES WITH **w.

**wa:kele 'peppernuts' #101.

**wa:wa?lewe 'egg' #3.

**waɬanye 'tail' #22.

**wareye, **wegeleye 'navel' #110.

**weĉekwane, **wegeĉekwane, **wecekwane 'elbow' #321.

**wel-, **welakhw-, **wegel-, **wegere 'fat' #324.

**wenli?a:gwe 'coals, charcoal' #355.

**wetempe 'head' #90.

5.3. Subordinative Themes. Some allocated verbs require suffixes forming SUBORDINATIVE THEMES when a further suffix follows. Commonly this further suffix is the obviative **-V1 #257, which signals a third-person possessor. Two subordinative theme suffixes are reconstructible:

(334) **-ag, **-eg 'subordinative theme': PA *-ay and *-y (Proulx 1982:sec.2.3), W -ɨg T66. Examples: M nen<:?seway 'my testicle' (beside F neneŝiwa), F neŝemya 'my daughter-in-law' (beside C nistim); W halɨ-wɨtkɨnɨgìɬ 'on her nails' T82, stem wɨtkɨn 'nails' T67. This reconstruction replaces **-Vg 'nonimmediate' #203. Compare also **-eg in **w?ataphege 'cordage root' #102.

It seems likely that W -ɨg- and -iy- 'nonimmediate' (always laryngealized T38, 58) originate in subordinative themes as well. They are chiefly used in subordinating a possessed to a possessing

entity (in some dependent nouns, probably of verbal origin), and a dependent verb to a superordinate verb or predicator. Examples: W w‡pti?y‡k 'my tooth' (laryngealized, with dependent root -‡pt 'tooth' and the first-person ending **-Vk? #209), k‡m‡r‡?g‡k 'if I steal' (root **kemotl- 'steal' #21). They are also used on some kin terms referring to the deceased (much as inaccessible inflection is in Algonquian). Thus, for example, W kúĉk‡di?y‡m 'your deceased grandmother' T40 (kúĉk‡d‡?l 'her grandmother' T146).

(335) **-em 'subordinative theme': PA *-em 'possessive theme' A304 (e.g., wetehkwemali 'her louse' A2204 with obviative *-ali beside *ehkwa 'louse' A284), W -‡b 'subordinative theme' T66 (e.g., ku kí?y‡b‡?l 'her hat' beside kí?y 'basketry cap' T19). Wiyot subordinative themes are used in locatives as well as possessed nouns, but are absent from word-final position - and thus from nouns with local possessors. In PA, they derive dependent from independent nouns.

Wiyot has some additional subordinative themes (Teeter 1964;sec.4.57): -(‡)w, -‡d, -..?. See **-ata:gw 'belly' #283 for an example after a stem with an Algic etymology.

5.4. Obviation. When an animate noun in Algonquian, or any noun in Wiyot, inflects for a third-person possessor, a terminal obviative suffix is added. **-Vl 'obviative' #257 is used with singular nouns in Algonquian, and, laryngealized, with all nouns in Wiyot. It is not clear whether or not PA *-VhV 'obviative plural' is related to the laryngealization found in Wiyot.

5.5. Locatives. Proto-Algic has at least 3 locatives:

**-e: 'temporal translocative (during)' #268-269.

(336) **-Vnki 'punctual spacial locative (in, at)' #34): PA *-enki A312, *-a:nki (M -a:h ML:75, in M k<?cekamyah 'by the sea', O -a:nk e0:41), W -akw T82, Y -ik (e.g., ?welinik 'in her eye').

(337) **-ayewi, **-eyewi 'spacial adlocative (toward)': PA *-ayewi (Ms wompanniyew 'toward the east', cf. mD wa:pp‡ne:w‡nk 'east'), Y -ew, PA *-i:w (Ps -iw, as in pithawiw 'upriver' beside pithawiye 'she goes upriver'). Cf. Y -ow in pecow beside pecik 'upriver'.

5.6. Gender. There are traces of what appear to be inflection for personal gender (**-a in #84) and nonpersonal gender (**-e in #95). Such a gender distinction is also implied by the division of verbs into UNIPERSONAL (TA in Algonquian), and BIPERSONAL (nonTA in Algonquian). More importantly, the abstract finals of many nouns resemble erstwhile pronouns, which certainly did have gender

suffixes (see sec.3.3). Presumably, these suffixes would have been incorporated into the nouns along with the finals.

5.7. Vocatives and Plurals. PA and Wiyot have (noncognate) vocative inflection, and PA and Yurok have cognate means of pluralizing some verbal nouns:

(338) **-eg- 'plural': PA *i:ɬ- 'so (plur.)' beside *eɬ- 'so' A369 (with contraction of **ege to PA *i:), Y -eg-. Examples: M ayi:nek<netua? 'ones who are so big' beside <:nek<net 'one so big', Y cegeykeni 'ones who are small' beside ceykeni 'one who is small' R82. In Yurok, this extends to some nouns whose verbal origins are no longer evident, e.g., pegerey 'old women' beside perey 'old woman'. In Yurok, this element is also used to nominalize a verb stem: nega? 'surf-fish net' (na?aw- 'catch surf fish'), swegeɬ 'gunshot' (sweɬk- 'burst').

Reduplication, sometimes combined with archaic ablaut, is similarly used. Citable examples are mostly verbs, but they presumably have unrecorded nominal counterparts (participles, etc.): M mama:hkiwan 'they (inanimate) are big' beside mahke:yaw<sew 'she is big of body', Y pope?l 'they're big' (attributive popoloh 'large round things') R96. Archaic ablaut, found in some nouns, may have had a similar function.[5]

NOTES

1. Languages, their abbreviations, and the sources from which they are generally cited are as follows: Abenaki-Ab-Laurent (1884), Day (1964); Plains Cree-C-Bloomfield (ms.); Swampy Cree-swC-Voorhis (1984a); Western Cree-fwC-Faries and Watkins (1938); Delaware-D-Goddard (1969)<uD=Unami, mD=Munsee>; Fox-F-Bloomfield (ms.); Kickapoo-K-Voorhis (1974); Loup-L-Day (1975); Mahican-Mh-Mastay (1982); Menominee-M-Bloomfield (1975); Miami-Mi-Voegelin (1937-40); Micmac-Mc-Proulx (field notes), DeBlois and Metallic (1984); Natick-N-Trumbull (1903); Ojibwa-O-Bloomfield (1957); Central Ojibwa-bO-Barraga (1878); Western Ojibwa-NiO-Nichols (1979); Central and Eastern Ojibwa-RhO-Rhodes (1985); Passamaquoddy-Ps-LeSourd (1984); Penobscot-Pe-Voorhis (1979); Proto-Algic-PAc-Proulx (1984); Proto-Algonquian-PA-Aubin (1975), Siebert (1975); Saulteaux-wO-Voorhis (1984b); Shawnee-Sh-Voegelin (1937-40); Wiyot-W-Teeter (1964); Yurok-Y-Robins (1958), Proulx (field notes).

PA reconstructions found in Aubin (1975), Bloomfield (1946), and Siebert (1975) are respectively identified with the letters A, B, and S plus the item number. ML = The Menomini Language (Bloomfield, 1962), eO = Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield, 1957).

Transcription generally follows that of Siebert (1975) for Algonquian, Teeter (1964b) for Wiyot, and Robins (1958) for Yurok. However, the following changes have been made: PA *ɬ is written for *θ, PA *s for *ç, PA *t for *x, PA *ʔ for *h between vowels, W ʔ for h before a consonant, W a for o, W ɨ for a, and Y ɨ for inverted r. For discussion of the changes, see Proulx (1984:168-169). Orthographic concessions to my word processor: s wedge is written as ŝ, c wedge as ĉ, schwa as ɨ, and Menominee epsilon as ɛ.

2. In Yurok, **g not only is sensitive to a following consonant (going to w before a labiovelar and y before a simple velar), but to a preceding one as well: it is glottalized when the next preceding consonant is glottal. For example, Y ʔeʔgahtemar 'write a lot' (ʔahtemar 'write', with infix **-eg). (Further infixing leads to yodation and the replacement of *eyʔe by iʔi, e.g., Y ʔiʔiʔgahtemar also 'write a lot'.) Evidently, these developments follow the merger of **gw with **g in Yurok.

3. One Yurok example of this nominal ending is laryngealized: ʔahspeyuʔr 'soup (lit. 'that which is drunk')', with root ʔahsp- 'drink' and -ey 'passive'. This appears to be secondary, as laryngealization itself is reconstructable as a nominalizing element (see **-...ʔ 'nominalizer' below). In Wiyot, such presumably-secondary laryngealization of nominals is universal whenever the nominal ends in a voiced consonant. For example, W -Vʔy (e.g., púwutwuʔy 'cooking utensils', with púw- 'cook', -utw 'with something', -uy 'someone') beside -Vy (as in kɨ́mɨ́ruy 'someone steals food', and hɨskɨ́pay 'someone bites a piece').

4. The opposition between PA *ŝ and PA *ɬ is neutralized before a morpheme boundary (with *ŝ before *i(:) and *y, and *ɬ elsewhere) - but in this environment the Proto-Algic grade variation (**l/r) is still indirectly attested by the PA doublets of *l and *ɬ, as in PA *nal- 'windward' versus *naɬ- 'upriver' (Faries C nunim 'windward', nutimik 'up the river', and compare Faries C nutuhi'skum 'she walks up the river' for segmentation).

5. In a letter dated June 5, 1991, Ives Goddard has drawn my attention to the fact that, contrary to my statement in fn.6 of my paper on Proto-Algonquian verbs (Proulx 1990:140), we are in fact in extensive agreement on the indefinite subject endings of PA. I apologize for any confusion caused by my error. Evidently in a moment of distraction I confused his IN(animate) subject endings with his indef(inite) subjects

ones (Goddard 1979:133).

On another point it seems we are not quite in agreement. By 'citing data' I mean actually presenting supporting forms from two or more daughter languages - which I consider to be a minimum requirement for a new reconstruction. Merely mentioning that the endings in question are very largely preserved in Kickapoo, and refering to Paul Voorhis's doctoral dissertation, gives the reader a vexing choice between a long and time-consuming paper chase to find nine suffixes or simply remaining in doubt. His vague reference (ibid., p.85) to some other languages preserving the conjunct endings well is totally unhelpful.

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**na:pe:gwa 'male' #284

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'wife' **-wi:wa #313; 'wife, his' **w?i:wali #313

'winter' **pipo:ne #321

'wipe' **kec-, **ka:c- #350

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APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL RECONSTRUCTIONS CITED

New reconstructions cited incidentally in this paper are:

(339) **ahp-, **ehp-, **ahpi:g-, **ehpi:g- 'press down on, bruise': (a) PA *ahp- 'down onto something', PA *ahpeh$\frac{1}{1}$- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (incorporating prefinal **-Vhr

'lie, fall' #341, (b) W phatɨwìɬ 'ladder' (with -at 'foot') and W phawatɨb 'step on it' (with postradical **-Vw ?), (c) PA *ahpi- (K ahpi- 'press, hold down', e.g., K ahpiskamwa 'she puts her foot on it', ahpihamwa 'she hold it down [by tool]'), PA *ahpi:hɬ- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (C ahpi:hcihe:w 'she bruises him', (d) W phigá?w 'bruises'. **g gives PA *y, which would be interpreted as Empty-y (see Proulx 1965:62) and deleted except before an element beginning in a vowel. Probably aspiration of **p in Wiyot is secondary after the loss of the initial **e (i.e., **hp ---> W ph in initial position). Compare secondary aspiration of an initial obstruent as a reflex of the prefix **k- in some dependent nouns (see Teeter 1964:79, Goddard 1966:402 n.11, and Proulx 1984:198). Alternatively, the reconstructions may be **ahph-, etc.

PA *ahp- 'down onto something': Sh ?pal?ka:ka 'ladder' and me?ĉi-?pal?ki 'she finished stepping on it' (with -Vl?k 'foot or body motion', as in niŝoŝkwal?ki 'I slipped and fell off', nikil?ka 'I stepped on it' p.337, ha:tal?ki 'she takes a step over' p.429 [with root ha:t- 'moving']), NiO apikan 'strap, harness' (holds something down), M ahpa:k- in ahpa:kesow 'she throws herself onto something (especially the ground)', ahpa:kece:hsen 'she lies down and relaxes', ahpa:ket<:?nen 'it is blown onto something'). PA *ahpehɬ- 'bruise from a blow or fall' (incorporating prefinal **-Vhr 'lie, fall' #341): M ap<:hniw 'it's dark blue' (with dissimilation of the first h), bO nindapissingwe 'I have a dark blue face from a blow or fall', RhO pisaag 'it's bruised', cf. Mi ŝe:ŝapŝimaka 'I bruise her', and apissiani 'I fall into (a hole)'.

(340) **-Vhl, **-Vhr 'lie, fall' replaces **-Vhɬ #153 in order to account for some Wiyot forms I had not spotted when I made the earlier reconstruction, e.g., tá?lib 'it lies there' T26, tɨkwɨ?ŝanar- 'break arm by falling' T53.

(341) **cawoni 'fishnet': W ĉawɨdáĉ 'dip net' (dim. pej.), Y cowon 'seine net'. Compare Pe ĉawáhpɨnikan 'net sinker' (Seeber 1983:301).

(342) **kwetk- 'angle (for fish)': PA *kwetk- S85 (with *o for *we, and final *-e:), Y kɨtk- 'go trout fishing'. **kwetkaɬi, **kweckaɬi 'angling tool': PA *kwetkane:ya:pyi 'fishing line' (with *-e:ya:py 'string, line') S85; *mekeskani 'fishhook' S85 (with indefinite-possessor *me- incorporated, and with dissimilation of labials), and *kweskani (M kohka:n) 'fishhook', Y kɨtkɨɬ 'trout-fishing pole'. Note: Y ɨ in the verb is analogical to the noun, where it is the result of vowel harmony.

(343) **-ɬk dependent noun stem, medial **-k 'chest (body part)'. The dependent stem and medial have often been substituted for one another in the daughter languages, and they have frequently been combined. The original distribution of allomorphs here is reconstructed by rule, i.e., in every other reconstructible dependent stem beginning with a k-cluster the corresponding medial archaically begins in a single **k (although medials analogical to the dependent stem are common). The abstract finals **-wan, **-wen, and **-tkan have also often been added.

**-ɬk dependent noun 'chest (body part)': PA *-ɬk-a:ɬki (K -hkaahki) , *-ɬk-a:ɬkikani (f+wC -skaskikun, and probably Lemoine's aO -kakikan [with transcription underdifferentiated as to voicing]), PA *-ɬkwani 'chest' (Ps -skwɨn, Mc -puskun [with initial shift of *m- to Mc p, and its incorporation into the stem]), W -tkɨkwɨd (deverbal in ta-tkwɨd- 'chest' T53). The Wiyot form has incorporated medial **-k, and both daughter languages a final **-wan. The two other PA stems have this element twice (with link vowel **a:), and one of them the final PA *-kan. Used secondarily as a medial in PA *-a:ɬkikan (1C pakamâskiganehusuw 'elle se frappe la poitrine', aO micâkikân 'avoir la poitrine poilue'). Coming a full circle, this PA medial again serves as a dependent stem in C -a:skikan. It is no doubt this medial which is the source of the accretions to the two dependent stems with PA *-a:ɬk above.

**-k medial 'chest (body part)' #140). Used secondarily as a dependent noun stem in W -kwhɨd, Y -kwen, PA *-k-ikan (Ps -ikikɨn, if the first i is harmonic with the second), PA *-k-a:ɬki (F -ka:hki), and PA *-k-a:ɬkikani (RhO -gaakgan).

(344) **mel?-, **mer?- 'rub hard': (a) in PA *melek- 'rub hides' (with PA *-ek 'natural outer covering'), Y me?lohpine?m 'you smear it' (with -op 'liquid' ?), me?repinek? 'I rub or massage something round', me?repo?y 'a file'; (b) Y mesew 'ointment' (with **-Vw 'nominalizer' #304), cf. mesi:gonoyek? 'I'm massaged'.

PA *melek-, *mehk- 'rub hides': (a) Sh mel?ke 'she rubs skin dry', nimel?ka:la 'I rub her (deerskin) dry'; (b) C mihkiw 'she scrapes hides'. The second Pre-PA **e evidently dropped under some conditions, and **lk gives PA *hk (see Proulx 1984:200).

PA *-ak, *-ek 'natural outer covering (skin, bark, and the like)': (a) in PA *pelak- 'peel, husk' S208 (root PA *pel-

'strip, remove surface, tear off' S208), and in PA *pehŝak- 'remove peel, skin' (Sh nipŝakina 'I peel it', Mc pesxa:lɨk 'I skin an animal') with root PA *pehŝ- peel, husk' S153; (b) in M pes<:kah<w 'she husks him (Indian corn)' (reflecting PA *peŝek-, with root *peŝ- from Pre-PA **per-, grade 2-3 of **pel-). Further examples of the roots are: K penenamwa 'she takes it off or apart or loosens it by hand', K pesinea 'she skins him', Sh nipel?ŝkwi 'I got loose'.

(345) **re?w-, medial -e?w 'catch, kill': W su?mɨ́ 'I kill it (one)' (with -Vm '3-obj.'), Y -sew (in tensewok? 'I catch or kill a lot', ckensewi? 'someone catches a few' (with ten- 'a lot', cken- 'a few'). **-e?w deverbal medial 'catch, kill': W -ɨ?w (in ĉɨwa talɨ́?wɨd 'they catch those', ta-kɨcɨ?wɨd 'one gets a lot', kɨcú?m 'I caught a lot' [with -Vm '3-obj.']); Y -ew (in na?awok? 'I kill two', nahksewetek? 'I get or kill three', co?onewetek? 'I get or kill four' [with unipersonal transitive -et]). **nikhre?w- 'catch or kill three': W dikhú?m 'I killed three' (with -Vm '3-obj.'), Y nahksewok? and nahksewetek? 'I get or kill three'. The root could also be reconstructed as **se?w- 'catch, kill', but the deverbal medial points to an initial sonorant.

(346) **aphetk-, **ephetk- 'tie into a round shape, i.e., a bunch or bundle': PA *petkw-, medial *-a:peŝk 'lump, sphere, knot'; W hɨphɨtk- 'tie roundish objects' T53 (e.g., tu-lɨ́phɨtkɨlɨd 'they tie in bunches', hɨphɨ́ĉk [grade 3] 'bundle'). Semantically, PA *petkw- and medial *-a:peŝk have generally lost the meaning 'tie', retaining only that of roundness - the exception being M p<hko:n<:w 'she unties her'. This loss is facilitated by the addition of the final **-Vph 'tie, string, root' #162 to those stems that retain the meaning 'tie'.

PA *petkw-, medial *-a:peŝk 'lump, sphere, knot': F pehkwa:senwi 'it's blown into a lump', pehkwitepe:wa 'she's lump-headed', K pehkwaai 'it's spherical, globular', pehkwaahki 'ball', NiO bikwaakwad 'ball', M p<hkuahkwat 'solid roundish lump, oak-gall', p<hkuahkihsen 'she lies as a lump on a tree or solid', p<hkuahkiw 'small round elevation in the land', p<hkuahki:hs<h 'small mound', p<hkuahsepeta:w 'she knots it', -p<hki:ko:htakan 'adam's apple', C piskwahca:w 'it's a knoll', Mi pe:kwakiwi 'range of mountains', RhO bkosgaag 'it's a hump in the floor', bkogoodeg 'it hangs in a bunch', bkwaakwdoons 'pill', bkwaakod 'ball', K pehkwaanehkapizoa 'she's knotted', F pehkwapitowa 'she ties it in a bundle', M p<hkuahsepeta:w 'she knots it' and p<hko:n<:w 'she unties her', C piskwahpitwa:w 'she has hair tied in a knot', Mt pichk8achk8an 'noeud, excroissance d'arbre', Mc pxoxt 'knot

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on a tree' (with medial *-a:tkw 'wood'), medial Mc -apsk (e.g., newapskek'l 'they are four round inanimate objects', toxopskɨsit 'she's short and round').

(347) **aph-, **eph- 'tie, cord'. In W hɨph- 'tie', and in **aphetk-, **ephetk- 'tie into a round shape, i.e., a bunch or bundle' #346 and **aphe:kh-, **-a:phe:kh 'cord' #348.

(348) **aphe:kh-, **-a:phe:kh 'cord': Y pekcic [diminutive?] 'thread, string, rope', dependent -pek; medial PA *-a:pye:k 'string' A59. Composed of **-Vph 'tie, string, root' #162, and **-Vkh 'long thing' #155. PA generally incorporates the subordinator **-eg [see **-ag #334] from pseudodependent **w?ataphega 'sewing root' #102 into **-Vph #347.

(349) **atk-, **atkeyi, **aĉkeyi, medial **-atk 'earth, land': PA *atkyi 'land' A228; Y ɨkeɨ 'land', ɨkoɨ 'mud', ɨkey(om) 'clay', ɨkeyomi? 'it's dirty' (with -omoy 'covered with'); W -ɨtk 'land' (bɨcɨ́wɨtkɨk 'on dry land'). Cf. Y heɨkew 'a place toward the mountains', and skelomoyek? 'I'm covered with dirt' Nb. 4:10. The last Yurok form shows the productive Y ɨ to s alternation.

(350) **kec-, **ka:c- 'wipe': PA *kesi:- 'wipe, rub, wash' (with incorporated link vowel) A774, *ka:s- 'wipe, rub, wash' (in Sh nikaθha 'I wipe it clean', nikiθa?kwe:na 'I wash her head') and *ka:si:- (with incorporated link vowel) A518-520; W kátb- (grade 1, in hi-kátbiɨ 'she wiped it', tá-katbɨ́gɨdɨps 'I'm drying my face'). Note: Wiyot incorporates the root extension **-Vm #355. Compare W ba-kɨɨ́?ŝan 'go wash your hands', and ta-kúsiɨ 'she's washing it'.

(351) **kewo?m- 'back 180 degrees': W ku?m- (e.g., kú?mɨtal- 'go back', with -ɨtal- 'go' as in kítɨtal- 'finish going'), Y kwom- in kwomoneme?m 'you take something back', otherwise kwomɨ-. Cf. PA *ki:we:- 'return home' A1002.

(352) **pew- 'put on the fire': PA *po:- 'put in medium (fire, pot)' (Sh me?ĉi-po:tawe 'she finishes putting wood on the fire', C po:nam 'she puts it as fuel on the fire', M po:nam 'she puts it in the pot'); W puw- 'cook' (incorporating intensive change ?); Y pewom- 'cook' with **-Vm 'postradical extension' #355. Cf. PA *apw-'roast' (as in *apwa:ni 'a roast' A156, C apwe:w 'she makes a roast'), and W kiɨ lɨ́p 'it's cooked' T85.

(353) **way- 'overnight': W wáy(ɨd)- 'all night', Y woy- (in woypinek?w 'it's in water overnight', woykenek?w 'it floats overnight', woycok? or woykecok? 'I stay overnight',

woyonek?w 'it soaks overnight').

APPENDIX B: ROOT EXTENSIONS

There are several postradical extensions used after verb roots, and thus at times in nouns from nominalized verbs:

(354) **-Vk 'postradical extension': PA *-ek, *-ak (see ML 21.39, and Proulx 1985a:79), W kútkuŝiɬ 'one head' (with **nekwet- 'one' #63 and **-Vŝ 'head' #166), Y -(e)k in no:loy(k)- 'feeble', st(ek)- 'high point, apex', and woy(k)- 'overnight'. Algonquian examples: M mo?ceket<:hp<w 'he's bald-headed' (mo?t- 'bare', PA *-temp 'head' #90), PA *kakwa:le?lak- 'frightful' A569 beside unreduplicated *kwe?l-A1060, haplologic from *kwele?l- 'fear' (reconstructed with *?ɬ, see Proulx 1985a:79). See also M ahpa:k- 'down onto something' (from PA *ahp-) under **ahp- #339, and M n<?sek- 'dark' (PA *ne?ŝ- 'dark, alone, awful') under **neSĉ- #276. Compare Y ho?omohtkok? 'I hurt someone' (cf. ho?omohtoyek? 'someone hurts me' where passive -oy replaces -ek).

(355) **-Vm 'postradical extension': W -b in kátb- (grade 1, in hi-kátbiɬ 'she wiped it', tá-katbɨ́gɨdɨps 'I'm drying my face') from **kec-, **ka:c- 'wipe' #350; Y -om synchronically in me?wom-, ye?wom-, and historically in pewom- 'cook' (from **pew- 'put on the fire' #352) and nekom- 'skillful' (from **nakh- #229).

(356) **-Vn 'postradical extension': W talɨ-wáydatɨwáni?l 'they dance all night' (with **way- 'overnight' #353 and **-Vt 'foot' #167), Y -on in humonepek? 'I get warm' (beside hewomopek? 'I warm liquid' - with hewom- or hum- (free variants), -ep 'mediopassive', and -op 'liquid'), ka:megone?ɬ or ka:mege?ɬ 'it's bad weather', myo?repek? 'I run to quarrel', and possibly cpego?ron(ep)ah 'I race someone' (-o?r 'run', -ep 'mediopassive'). Perhaps the same element becomes premedial in **-en-eɬkw 'sleep, dream' #146 (beside **-VɬkW of the same meaning).

(357) **-Vw 'postradical extension': PA *-w, *-aw (Bloomfield 1946:sec. 104-5, Proulx 1985a:63), Y -ew in sk(ew)- 'well' and perhaps myew-'stick in, submerge' beside my- 'push, surge, rise', and cf. W phawatɨb 'step on it' beside W

phatɨwìɬ 'ladder' (with -at 'foot'). See also PA *ɬe?ɬaw- 'fork', beside PA *ɬi:?ɬ- 'fork', and Y slahɬ- 'separate, apart' under **SleSl- #277.

(358) **-Vy 'postradical extention': W -ay (in ku?mayúthiɬ 'she goes back and forth by boat', with root **kewo?m- 'back 180 degrees' #351 and medial **-?o:nĉh 'by boat' #151; also in da?tayɨkhwɨdiɬ 'she's got big shoulders', katbáyɨpɬayɨwĩɬ 'broom', and tbɨpɬayú?wɨɬ 'scythe'); Y ce?l(oy)- 'dry', nekȯm(uy)- 'well', neskw(ey)- 'annoying', nohp(uy)- 'into', sek(oy)- 'fast', and wohp(ey)- 'across' (Proulx 1985b:103-112).